

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

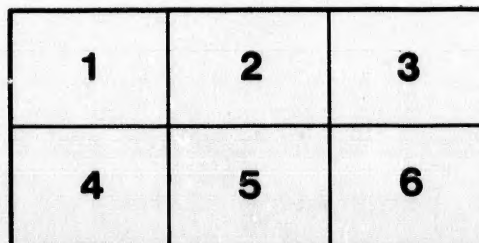
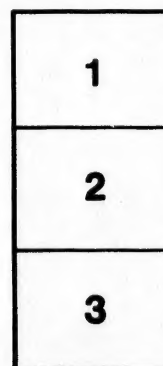
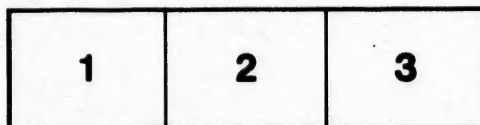
Library of the Public
Archives of Canada

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol → (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ▼ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

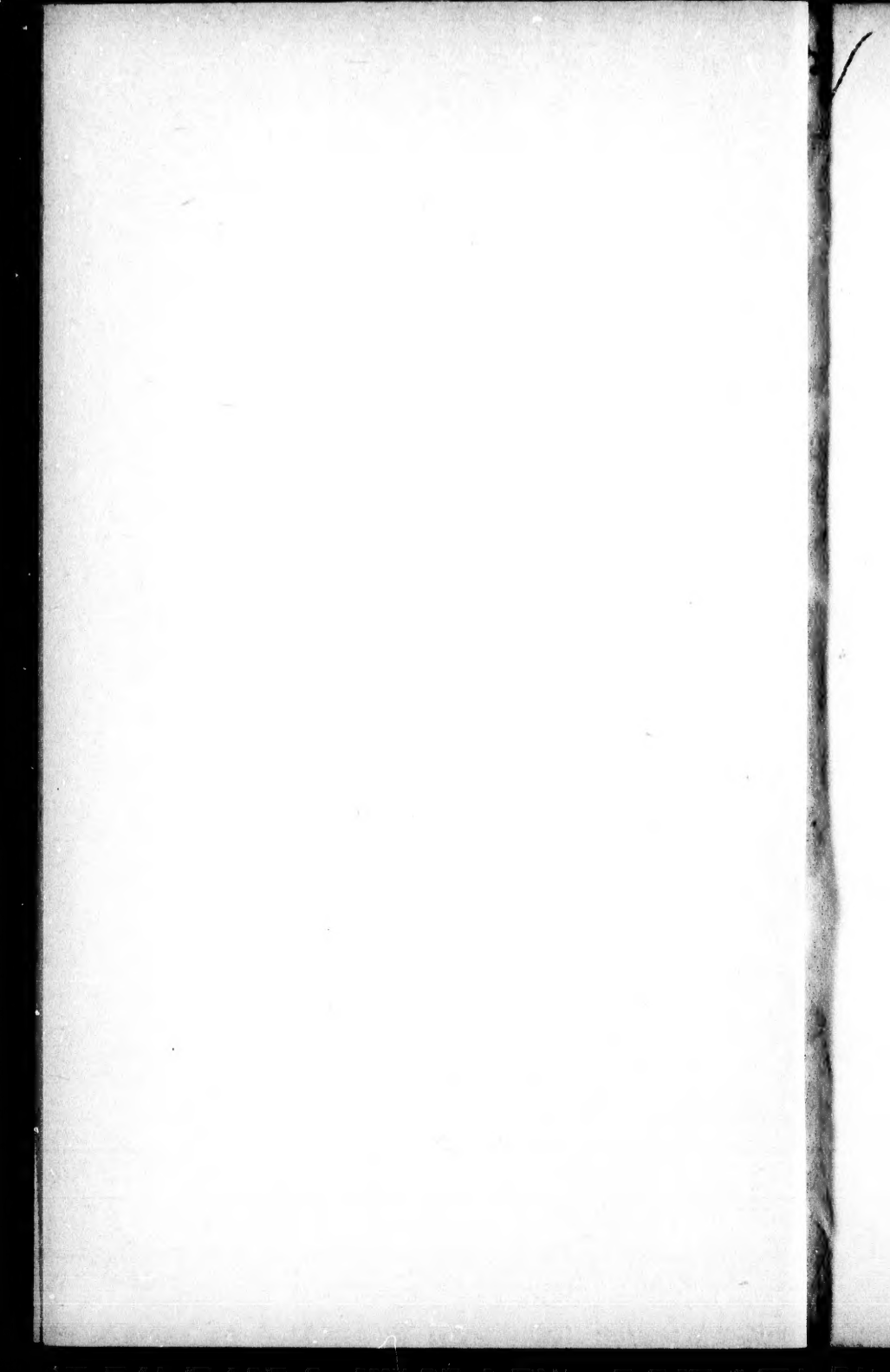
La bibliothèque des Archives
publiques du Canada

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole → signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ▼ signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.



3

THE

MACKENZIE HOMESTEAD.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

AT TWO MEETINGS HELD IN TORONTO, PREPARATORY TO AN APPEAL
BEING MADE TO THE PEOPLE OF CANADA, ON BEHALF OF AN
OLD, FAITHFUL, AND TALENTED PUBLIC SERVANT,

WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE, ESQ., M.P.R.;

WITH THE

ADDRESS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

TORONTO:

PRINTED FOR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

1856.

N. B.—Parties friendly to the object are requested to organise an active Committee in every city, town, village, or township, and to make returns to the Treasurer in Toronto, as soon as they have completed their canvass.

MACKENZIE HOMESTEAD.

PUBLIC MEETING.

At a Meeting held at Mr. John Platt's Inn, Nelson Street, Toronto, on Wednesday Evening, March 19th, to take into consideration the providing a Homestead for W. L. MACKENZIE, Esq., M.P.P., as a Token of gratitude by the People of Canada, for his unswerving integrity and consistency during a long period of useful Public Life—

JAMES LESSLIE, Esq., was called to the Chair; and Mr. A. A. RIDDEL was requested to act as Secretary.

Moved by Mr. S. WALTON, seconded by Mr. R. STEWART—

That a Committee be formed to draft an Address on the subject respecting which this meeting was convened; and that the Committee call a General Meeting of those friendly to the object, at which meeting said Address shall be presented for consideration.

Moved by Mr. D. CAMPBELL, seconded by Mr. J. P. CHERRY—

That said Committee consist of Messrs. JAS. LESSLIE, R. H. BRETT, W. McDUGALL, C. DURAND, JOHN PLATT, S. WALTON, and A. A. RIDDEL.

J. LESSLIE,
Chairman.

A. A. RIDDEL,
Secretary pro tem.

At a meeting held at the Mechanics' Institute, Toronto, on Friday evening, April 14th, to receive the Report of the Committee appointed to draft an Address to the People of Canada, on the subject of providing a Homestead for W. L. MACKENZIE, Esq.,

It was moved by C. DURAND, Esq., seconded by R. STEWART, Esq.—

That JAMES LESSLIE, Esq., take the Chair—*Carried.*

Moved by S. WALTON, seconded by J. McNAB, Esq.—

That Mr. A. A. RIDDEL act as Secretary—*Carried.*

The Chairman opened the proceedings by stating the objects of the meeting. He gave a brief review of the services Mr. MACKENZIE had rendered the country, and urged his claims to its gratitude. He then called upon W. McDougall, Esq., as a member of the Committee, to read the Address.

The Address having been read by Mr. McDougall—

The Rev. J. RICHARDSON moved its adoption, and Mr. FRENCH of Brantford, seconded the motion.

Moved by JOHN CAMERON, Esq., seconded by ROBT. MAITLAND, Esq.—

That the following gentlemen form a Central Committee, with power to add to their number—namely, Messrs. JAMES LESSLIE, R. H. BRETT, W. McDougall, JOHN PLATT, JOHN DOEL, A. McGLASHAN, S. WALTON, Rev. J. RICHARDSON, JOHN McINTOSH, JOS. SHEARD, JOHN GIBSON, and C. DURAND. Committee to appoint a Chairman and Secretary, and to solicit the coöperation of friends throughout the Province.

Moved by JOHN McNAB, Esq., seconded by ALEX. McKINNON, Esq., of Hamilton—

That JAS. LESSLIE, Esq., act as Treasurer—*Carried.*

Moved by R. MAITLAND, Esq., seconded by R. H. BRETT, Esq.—

That each Committee formed for the purpose of raising subscriptions, nominate a Delegate; and that the Delegates so nominated meet at Toronto when notified by the Secretary of the Central Committee, to elect five Trustees, who shall dispose of any funds that may be collected in the manner provided for in the Address adopted this evening.

J. LESSLIE,
Chairman.

A. A. RIDDEL,
Secretary pro tem.

P. S.—At a meeting of the Central Committee Mr. LESSLIE was requested to act as *Secretary* as well as *Treasurer*.

TO THE PEOPLE OF CANADA.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN:

At a time of Prosperity like the present—when Religious and Political Liberty is so largely enjoyed,—it may be well to look back a few years to a period when Prosperity was unknown in our country, and when Liberty may be said to have had no existence. In that retrospect, we shall find ourselves impelled by a sense of duty and of justice to acknowledge our gratitude to those to whom we are chiefly indebted for that Prosperity, and by whose exertions and sufferings that Liberty has been secured.

Foremost among those to whom the people of Canada are thus indebted, stands that old and faithful Public Servant, that consistent, yet much maligned and persecuted Champion of Popular Rights and Honest Government—*William Lyon Mackenzie*.

It may be asked by some, What are the claims which he presents to the gratitude of the people of this Province? It may be answered: If by long years of mental and physical labour, by the contribution of every shilling that the most frugal economy could spare, by the sacrifice of every domestic comfort, of every opportunity of wealth, of even the chance of competence; if by submitting to the scorn of the proud, the oppressions of the powerful, the insults and bludgeons of ignorant mobs, and often the peril of life itself, in the cause of Freedom, a man can entitle himself to a People's gratitude; then has MR. MACKENZIE a claim upon the people of Canada, which it should be no less their duty than their pleasure to acknowledge and redeem.

Let us take a brief glance at the condition of our country prior to his appearance on the political stage, and then note a few incidents in his remarkable career. Such a review is not needed for the information of the old residents of the country, for with them his name is a household word, and his public services a familiar story. But it may serve to shew to young Canadians and to those who have recently settled in the country, how many wrongs have been redressed, how many evils removed, how many advantages gained, how many rights acknowledged, through the efforts and sacrifices of a few patriotic men, among whom MR. MACKENZIE has always held a preëminent place.

The war of 1812-15, left Canada in great distress:—her trade interrupted—her industry diverted from its natural channels—her government in the hands of unsympathising strangers and corrupt placemen—the just claims of her most loyal inhabitants disregarded—her Parliament a political nonentity, having neither the desire nor the power to protect its constituents or redress the public wrongs. British laws which were applicable to the Colonies, and were wisely adapted to promote the settlement and prosperity of the Province, were boldly abrogated by the Executive, without refer-

ence to Parliament; and the early immigrants were exposed to incredible hardships by the mode adopted for laying out and granting the public lands. The state of the country at that time is thus described by a celebrated British writer of the day, and may be considered anything but an exaggerated picture.

"The management of Upper Canada from the first settlement to the present day, has been wretched. Mismanagement in Canada has cost the country (Great Britain) full thirty millions of money, to say nothing of lives by the thousand. Where is madness to end? Shall we lose hold of an immense dominion from mere weakness? Shall we drive the most loyal people of the Empire to revolt, and to curse us for ever: or calmly set about investigation, the due ordering of business, and the discharge of honorable and imperious duties?"

Such being the state of affairs, need we wonder that men who had freely sacrificed their property and poured out their blood on the field of battle, should evince discontent and demand redress, even at the foot of the throne?

In 1818 public meetings were held in nearly all the settled Townships of Upper Canada, at which resolutions were passed condemnatory of the corrupt practices and arbitrary acts of the Executive authority, and demanding, as the only remedy, a change in the system of government.

An address to the Crown was agreed upon at these meetings, in which the local officials were charged with having "long converted the trust reposed in them to purposes of selfishness," and alleging that the restrictions which the Home Government had found it necessary to impose upon them, "did not remove the evil." The people told their Sovereign "that a system of patronage and favoritism in the disposal of the Crown Lands, altogether destructive of moral rectitude and virtuous feeling in the management of public affairs, still exists;" that "corruption has reached such a height in this Province that it is thought no other part of the British Empire has ever witnessed the like; "that it is vain to look for improvement till a radical change be effected." They declared that "Upper Canada now pines in comparative decay; discontent and poverty are experienced in a land supremely blessed with the gifts of nature; dread of arbitrary power prevents the free exercise of reason and manly sentiment; the laws have been set aside," &c. &c.

The arrival of a new Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, inspired hopes of reform. A meeting of Delegates assembled at York (now Toronto) agreed to postpone the address to the Crown, and adopted a petition to the Lieut. Governor, in which the public grievances were stated, and he was requested to dissolve the then Parliament. He was assured that "notoriously bad characters would no longer be chosen to represent the

people;" that "respectable men," who had hitherto disdained to sit in a degraded House, "would come forward;" and the petitioners "hoped a better era would commence." The Governor refused to receive the petition, insulted those who waited upon him, and recommended, in his speech to the Legislature, "a law of prevention" against meetings of delegates and "attempts to excite discontent." The degraded Parliament responded to His Excellency's request. They passed a law entitled "An Act for preventing certain Meetings within this Province," popularly known as the "Gagging Law," which made all assemblies of the people to discuss public affairs, and to adopt means for their improvement, "unlawful assemblies," and declared those who should presume to publish a notice of such meetings guilty of a "high misdemeanor," and liable to fine and imprisonment.

Robert Gourlay, an honest, intrepid Briton, who had generously aided the people to make known their wrongs, and of whom Mr. Mackenzie may be considered the antitype, was arrested and tried for sedition. An honest jury acquitted him; but he was subsequently banished the Province, without trial or conviction by any legal tribunal. By this high-handed stretch of Executive power the complaints of the people were stifled, and their opposition to the misdeeds and oppressions of the Government for the moment subdued. Official corruption and Executive tyranny grew bolder from this apparent triumph, and for a season justice held the scales with eyes unbandaged, and villainy, sustained by power, stalked through the land.

The people, however, would not tamely surrender their rights as British subjects. The same Parliament that passed the infamous Gagging Law was obliged, in view of a general election, to repeal it. A large majority of candidates in opposition to the Provincial Government was returned. Resolutions were passed and addresses voted to the King, against the arbitrary conduct of the Executive, but no redress could be obtained. The Royal ear was poisoned by official slanders and falsehoods, and the Executive, holding office without responsibility to Parliament, laughed at the people's complaints, and defied their opposition. At this dark period of our history WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE appeared in the field. To recount all his public services, or to enumerate those only which all impartial men even now admit have produced a marked and decided influence for good upon the destinies of our country, would be to write its political history for the last thirty years.

In the year 1824 Mr. Mackenzie commenced his career as a politician. His first newspaper, the *Colonial Advocate*, was issued at Queenston, and subsequently at York. By his bold and vigorous exposure of official corruption he became a terror to the "Family Compact," then in the hey-day of its power, and an attempt was made in 1826 to silence and crush him, by the destruc-

tion of his Press and Types, which were thrown into Lake Ontario by the sons and dependants of those whose dishonest conduct he had brought to light. But this outrage only added fuel to the fire that burned in the public breast; it confirmed those who had previously doubted the purity of the Government, and provoked those who had witnessed its corruption, and felt its oppressions, to a more determined opposition. Mr. MACKENZIE appealed to the law; a verdict against the destroyers of his property was the result, and his newspaper was soon on its accustomed round, every day enlarging the circle of its influence. In 1827, when the attempt was made to disfranchise a large portion of the population of Upper Canada by the infamous ALIEN BILL. Mr. MACKENZIE took a prominent part in the measures then adopted to secure its defeat. By his advice that cruelly-persecuted patriot ROBERT RANDALL, was quietly sent off to England before the Government were aware of the movement; and armed with the remonstrances of a wronged and indignant people, he happily secured its defeat by the veto of the King.

In 1828 he entered the Legislature as one of the representatives of the County of York, and there labored with the same untiring energy as at the press, for the public good. His faithful and vigorous exposures of corruption and maladministration of public affairs led to his being violently expelled from the Assembly no less than five times, but in every case he was again returned by overwhelming majorities.

It was during this year that the warfare in Canada against Ecclesiastical usurpation and intolerance may be said to have commenced. The attempt to lay broad and deep the foundations of a State Church, by the crafty circulation of false information, relative to the numerical strength and the character of the religious denominations in the Province, among the members of the British Cabinet and Parliament was discovered and exposed. Upwards of fifty witnesses were examined before a Committee of the Provincial Legislative Assembly upon this subject, many of whom were intelligent Episcopalians, and their testimony gave the lie to Doctor Strachan's pretended "Ecclesiastical Chart of Upper Canada," and a correct chart was that year transmitted to London, accompanied by a loyal address from the Assembly, to which no reply, if received by the Upper Canada Executive (of which Doctor Strachan was a member), was ever communicated to the House. Mr. MACKENZIE took a very active part at this period in thus endeavoring to arrest the progress of Ecclesiastical intolerance, and to establish universal religious liberty and equality, and his zeal in defence of the cause has never abated during a long and weary warfare of nearly thirty years. Thousands of the inhabitants of Canada are not aware that up to this period (1828) no religious community, except the Church of England, could legally hold a piece of ground as a site for a church or a burial-place, and

that for years afterwards, the right to solemnize marriage was denied to all but the ministers of that church. Cases are indeed on record of Methodist and Presbyterian ministers having been banished from Upper Canada, as dangerous criminals, for simply marrying members of their own religious community!

In 1820, Mr. MACKENZIE, as Chairman of the Committee of the Assembly on Post-office Reform, rendered essential service to the country. The department in Canada was then managed entirely by and for the Imperial Government. Its revenues were kept secret and were grossly misapplied. The local Legislature could not even obtain information deemed necessary for the public welfare. The measures suggested and brought forward by Mr. MACKENZIE led the Imperial Government not only to furnish the financial information required, but to pass an Act to authorize the re-modelling of the entire system. The draft of a Bill was sent out to be passed into law by the Upper Canada Parliament, but although the temptation was held out by the Imperial Government that Mr. MACKENZIE should be Head of the Department under the new system, he strenuously opposed the measure because it failed to meet the wants and expectations of the country. This was a noble act of disinterested patriotism, and the people may trace to the action then taken by Mr. MACKENZIE the wide-spread benefits of our present Postal System.

Finding, however, that all efforts to secure reformation through the local Legislature failed; that maladministration continued; that the public grievances remained unredressed; and that there was no certainty that the complaints of the people would ever reach the Imperial Authorities, Mr. MACKENZIE determined in 1832 to visit London (England) in person; and as the representative of the people, formally submitted their petitions to the British Cabinet and Parliament. These embraced one to the House of Commons, with 11,000 signatures, besides nearly fifty to His Majesty King Wm. IV. He was received with much respect and consideration; and through the aid of the late Joseph Hume, that noble champion of honest government in Britain, notwithstanding the opposition of the then Provincial Parliament and Executive, he obtained access to the official records of the Colonial office, the secret financial returns of the Government of Upper Canada, and the Journal of its Executive Council, and by his representations of misrule and corruption, led to some attempts at reformation. By his influence, the Attorney and Solicitors General were dismissed from office by order of the Crown. But these attempts of the Imperial Government were not continued with vigor, and were soon rendered abortive by the powerful oligarchy then ruling the Province.

The following extracts illustrate the character and magnitude of Mr. MACKENZIE's labours during that important period:—

DESPATCH OF LORD GODERICH TO SIR JOHN COLBORNE.

Downing Street, 8th November, 1832.

SIR,—During several months past I have been in occasional communication with Mr. William L. Mackenzie, upon the subject of the grievances said to exist in Upper Canada, and for redress of which various petitions have been addressed to His Majesty.

As Mr. Mackenzie has been the bearer of these petitions to this country, I have availed myself of his residence here to obtain such information as it is in his power to give respecting the opinions and wishes of that portion of the inhabitants of the Province by whom he has been deputed to act. I have been anxious to afford Mr. Mackenzie the most ample opportunity of doing justice to the case which he had laid before me.

From the voluminous mass of that gentleman's correspondence, I have selected three documents which profess to embody the entire substance of that case as it affects the present condition of Upper Canada; of these documents I have the honour to enclose copies for your information.

I propose in this despatch to follow Mr. Mackenzie through those parts of his statement respecting the representation of the inhabitants in the House of Assembly, which appear to me essential to the consideration of the practical questions he has undertaken to agitate.

FROM JOSEPH HUME, ESQ., M.P., ON THE EVE OF MR. MACKENZIE'S RETURN TO CANADA.

*Bryanston Square, June 24th, 1833.**To Wm. L. Mackenzie, Esq.*

DEAR SIR,—I cannot allow you to leave this country without expressing my sense of the great advantage which the people of Upper Canada have derived from your exertions, which have been unwearied and persevering since your arrival; and, I may add, comparatively successful in obtaining many alterations from Lord Goderich in orders respecting the future government of Upper Canada.

I remain, &c. &c.

JOSEPH HUME.

Mr. Hume, in a subsequent letter wrote thus (in 1834):

"I consider that Colonists, to be useful to England, or to be contented and happy, must be treated as fellow-citizens, and have the same rights and privileges which the best expounders of our constitution declare Englishmen shall carry with them to whatever part of the world they may go and settle under the protection of the Mother Country. I cannot think that the British Government have acted on these principles towards the Canadas, and I need not recall the dissatisfaction, nor state the evils that have been the consequence of that system in proof of my opinion, as you have ably pointed them out to the nation at large."

There is no act of Mr. MACKENZIE's life which exhibits more clearly his loyal attachment to the Government of the Empire, than this mission to England. It was dictated by an ardent love of liberty—a respect for British constitutional principles, and a desire to see all that is valuable in them engrafted peacefully into the Government of this country. It was undertaken, too, at his own expense and risk, aided only by the voluntary contributions of friends. His Printing Establishment being committed for upwards of a year to comparative strangers, suffered materially during his absence, and upon his return home he found the business which he had left in a flourishing and prosperous condition seriously deranged and destroyed.

The exalted opinion entertained of Mr. MACKENZIE's

services in England, by the most eminent men in both Provinces, may be learned from the fact that on his return he received the thanks of the Speaker and members of the Lower Canada Assembly, and other distinguished persons—while the Assembly of Upper Canada on the 9th of Feb., 1833, moved an Address to the King, by Messrs. Bidwell & Perry, expressive of their gratitude for the important reforms recommended to Sir John Colborne in the despatch of Lord Goderich, dated 8th Nov., 1832, and which was consequent upon Mr. MACKENZIE'S labours in England during that year. They are thus enumerated in that address.

1. "The passing of a bill for the amendment of the Election Laws ;
2. "The alteration of the Charter of King's College in such a manner as shall agree with the wishes of the people ;
3. "The placing the Town Members of the Assembly on the same footing in respect to wages as the County Members ;
4. "The allowing all the Members of religious denominations who cannot conscientiously take an oath, the privilege of the Elective Franchise ;
5. "The interdiction of the disposal of the Crown Lands to favorites, and rendering them the subject of public competition ;
6. "The repeal of the law which excluded British subjects from voting at Elections, and being elected, until the expiration of seven years after their return from a residence in a foreign country ;
7. "The non-interference of all persons holding official situations in the Province at Elections ;
8. "The strong recommendation of His Majesty for a universal diffusion of Education, especially among the poorest and most destitute ;
9. "The desire expressed that the most ample and particular information should be given to this House of the avails and disposition of the Casual and Territorial Revenue ;
10. "The disposition expressed by His Majesty that the Ministers of Religion should resign their seats in the Councils, and that no undue preference should be given to preachers of the Church of England ;
11. "The reducing the cost at Elections ;
12. "The respect expressed for our constitutional rights ;
13. "The passing of a Bill for the Independence of the Judges ;
14. "The passing of a Bill limiting the number of persons holding offices to seats in the House of Assembly."

In December 1833 Mr. MACKENZIE was violently and unconstitutionally expelled from the Legislative Assembly for the fifth time. The appeal now made to the people of this Province would be wanting were no reference made to the circumstances of that expulsion. The clear and irresistible arguments adduced, and the honorable testimony given on that occasion in his defence by the Hon. Marshall Spring Bidwell, should embalm the names of both the persecuted patriot and his distinguished and patriotic defender in the memory of the freemen of Canada. Mr. MACKENZIE was not allowed to speak in his own defence, and the Assembly refused to issue a writ for a new election. The following is a quotation from the record of proceedings:—

"Mr. *Samson*, of Belleville, while urging Mackenzie's condemnation, told the House that "he believed there was a direct application, not to the Governor of Upper Canada, but of Lower Canada, which, had it been successful, would have purchased Mr. Mackenzie's services."

"Mr. *Bidwell* replied that Mr. Mackenzie had requested him to state that there was not one word of truth in the statement made by

Mr. Samson—that no such application, either direct or indirect, had ever been made. While a member of that House, Mr. Mackenzie was treated by the members of the official majority with great personal disrespect, and often alluded to as “that man,” “that fellow.” This abuse was sanctioned and practised by high legal gentlemen. Mr. Mackenzie printed at his own expense 200 copies of the folio journals of the House, and distributed them at his own expense all over the province. One copy he sent to Mr. Morris, who acknowledged its receipt, and has this day and on other occasions shewn much feeling against him. A motion was brought on in the House, and Mr. Morris voted him guilty of a breach of privilege for doing this. For this act Mr. Mackenzie had deserved the esteem, commendation, and respect of the country. By seeing in what way their representatives acted, the freeholders would be better able to judge of their fitness to represent them. Mr. Mackenzie has never been expelled for anything he has done or said on the floor of this House. No one act of his as a member, no one speech, sentence, or expression has been condemned or found worthy of expulsion. I do think it the most cruel proceeding ever witnessed that we expel a member, and harass and vex a great county, and yet, bring no charge against him. Mr. Mackenzie was not punished here as a member of this House, but as the editor of a newspaper; and in that capacity shall it be said that we will attempt to dictate to him what he should do and what he should not? You all know that Mr. Mackenzie was distinguished more than many other members of this House for the great quantity of political information he brought into it, for his diligence in searching out abuses, and for his strict attendance to the important duties he had undertaken to perform for his constituents. He was expelled on the bank question. On the evening of the 6th no vote could be got on it; next day the member for Wentworth (Mr. John Willson) stopt his inquiry by a motion for expulsion. The moment he (Mackenzie) brought forward the same motion after his reflection it was the signal of new persecutions, and he was again expelled. His unwearied zeal for the good of the country has been acknowledged even by his opponents. Does over-zeal in the people's service cause disqualification? He was here early and late; our journals bear ample proof of his usefulness and fitness for the place he held. I have known Mr. Mackenzie, when I held the office you now fill, Mr. Speaker, sit night after night till twelve o'clock, examining the petitions of the people and other public documents of this House, in order that he might the better qualify himself for a faithful performance of his duty to the people. To such an extent did he carry this practice, that at length the messenger of the House made a formal complaint to me that he was worn out sitting up waiting on Mr. Mackenzie while poring over and examining the business of the legislature. Seldom has such a complaint been made. The people of York were here on the spot; they saw his untiring zeal—they beheld him always at his post, up early and late—his only recompense, his sole reward, their esteem and regard. And now, Mr. Speaker, we punish them for their attachment to a representative whose only fault is, that he has the same opinion of the public conduct of a majority of the members of this House as his constituents. The resolution (Morris and McNab's), after reciting the old stories, tells us that Mr. Mackenzie is hereby expelled—not before, but now. As in Wilkes's case, the expellers depend on their majorities, and seek to avoid discussion. Yet the House of Commons eventually condemned and expunged its own resolutions declaring Wilkes unfit and disqualified, because it was admitted to be unconstitutional in the House to dictate to the people who they should and who they should not elect, and because the free choice of representatives remains in the people. Who are we, that we should dictate to the people of York, or any other county, who they should and should not make choice of? The mere servants of the people, to whom for a limited time a limited and delegated authority is committed. The right to sit and vote in this House is as well secured to every qualified individual as his right to hold and enjoy his property which he has bought, earned, or inherited; the former right is the most

important of the two. It is not pretended that Mr. Mackenzie is not a just man, and punctual, honest, and upright in his dealings; neither in this House nor out of it has the breath of slander assailed his private character; he is the free and unanimous choice of the greatest, most populous, and wealthy county in the Province: let him take his seat. We are going to be asked for a large vote of money to the Welland Canal, for a still larger sum to the St. Lawrence; and is it not right that the county of York should be represented in such a case? Had the Executive Government been sincere in its expression of a desire to remove the difficulty that exists, it would, I think, have found the means of doing so before now. But I fear there is a secret influence here that counteracts all the good intentions and professed anxiety for our constitutional rights expressed in England. Had Mr. Mackenzie exerted himself in favor of the views of the government in the same way in which he has sought the reform of abuses, he would have been covered with the honors of the government. It is the same with the minority on this floor—their only recompense is found in a sense of having faithfully performed an unpleasant duty to the country."

In 1834 a general election changed the character of the Legislative Assembly.

The liberal Despatches from the Imperial to the Colonial Government on the subject of the grievances brought to light by Mr. MACKENZIE were published by order of Sir John Colborne, the then Lieut. Governor of Upper Canada, and gave general satisfaction to the people; but, at the instigation of the faction then ruling the country, His Excellency ignored the Royal Instructions, and committed acts directly in opposition to the Imperial will and authority. Among these was the establishment of the Rectories secretly, and on the eve of his departure from the Province—an act of official iniquity the like of which was never perhaps perpetrated in a British Colony. The foundations of a State Religious Establishment were thus laid in darkness, and its superstructure has since been reared by treachery and violence, in opposition to the well-known sentiments and desires of our population.

In 1835, Mr. MACKENZIE's labours in the public service might well be designated as herculean and invaluable. As Chairman of the "Committee on Grievances," he produced a voluminous Report embracing a mass of intelligence never before submitted to Parliament or the people. He carried to maturity important reforms of the law—one of which—an Act to prevent more than one action on Promissory Notes—effectually arrested the hand of the oppressor. During the whole year, after the prorogation of Parliament, he laboured as Commissioner in the investigation of the affairs of the Welland Canal, and rendered incalculable service to the country. His capacity to unravel the complicated financial blunders or villanies of the Company being denied, two accountants were called to inspect his charges, one of whom was Mr. Hincks, and he published, under his own signature, that were he on oath, he could not say whether, as Mr. MACKENZIE had affirmed, the greater number of entries in the companies books were true or false! For his year's services he was voted £250 in 1836, but the supplies not being voted that year it remained unpaid until 1851,

and was then paid, but without interest. A Select Committee of the Assembly in the same year recommended unanimously a grant of £500 to indemnify Mr. MACKENZIE for the actual expenses of his mission to England in 1832-33, but it failed from the same cause, and has never since been paid.

In 1836, initiative movements to secure the benefits of receiving and shipping goods for Canada through American ports, in bond, were made by Mr. MACKENZIE, who drafted the petition to the American Government, and addresses to the Crown, which resulted in the concession of this important improvement to our commerce, and laid the foundation of the benefits now enjoyed under the late Act securing Reciprocity of Trade. He, this year, carried also the first measure through the Assembly to secure Township Elections, but it was quashed by the Legislative Council. During the same session the House expunged from the Journals the disgraceful record of Mr. MACKENZIE's expulsions as unconstitutional, and the memorable struggle for Responsible Government took place. Sir Francis B. Head repudiated all responsibility to any power in Canada, and declared his purpose to govern the Province without respect to the advice of his Council. Mr. MACKENZIE moved and carried an Address upon this vital subject, but Sir Francis set the Legislature at defiance—the supplies were stopped, and the House was suddenly dissolved.

The exasperation created by the misrule and treachery of the Colborne Administration was only thus increased under that of Sir Francis Bond Head. Like his predecessor, he set Imperial instructions and authority at defiance, became the willing tool of the "Family Compact," and finished his political career by lighting the flames of a civil war. Mr. MACKENZIE at this era evinced his sincerity, if not his wisdom, in attempting to remove those evils by force, which moral and constitutional means had failed to redress. The rising of 1837-8 was less a revolt of the people against the Crown than against a perfidious Executive, entrenched in power, enriched by plunder, and ruling in utter contempt of human rights, and in violation of every principle of constitutional government.

The property which Mr. MACKENZIE had acquired by constant application to business, and the exercise of a most rigid economy, was wantonly destroyed by the authorities of that day, and he himself driven from the country in whose cause he had suffered so much, and for whose welfare he had labored so long in the midst of privations, sacrifices, and dangers.

Whatever some may think of the events of 1837, it must be admitted that the political commotions of that period produced beneficial results. A distinguished, high-minded, and liberal British statesman, the Earl of Durham, was appointed Governor General. His Report on the affairs of Canada, as well as the testimony of Lord

Sydenham at a subsequent period, justified the charges made against the reigning compact, and showed the necessity of introducing a healthful responsibility into the management of our public affairs.

During twelve years of political exile Mr. MACKENZIE had the satisfaction to see the great principles for which he had contended fully recognized, if not wholly carried out. The Executive was made responsible to Parliament; the Legislative Council was purged of partizan judges and plotting ecclesiastics; municipal institutions, with all their advantages, were obtained; the public credit was established; freedom of election was secured, and numerous other reforms accomplished—which, had they been conceded a few years earlier, would have prevented the revolt, and secured for the government the gratitude and confidence of the whole people.

Since his return again to the sphere of his early labors and trials he has labored with the same assiduity for the public good. His measures to protect the poor man in distress from ruin or starvation by securing property to the value of twenty-five pounds to his family, and by his Homestead Exemption Bill,—his labors to secure the freedom and safety of Banking,—his luminous and talented exposures of financial corruption and mismanagement in the public accounts,—and his efforts to establish a Decimal Currency, with numerous other measures which cannot be detailed in this Address, place him in the highest rank of the patriotic men who have labored for the freedom and prosperity of the Province.

The high estimate set upon Mr. MACKENZIE's services on behalf of Canada by that eminent friend of liberty and justice, Mr. Hume, is thus expressed in a letter to him in 1851:—

"I was a witness to your indefatigable labors when you were a member of the Assembly in Upper Canada, and could bear testimony to your persevering exertion in this country when deputed to explain to his Majesty's ministers the real situation of the Province of Upper Canada. I attended you to the Colonial Minister that he might learn from you the misrule that existed in Canada by the family clique which then enjoyed the confidence of Downing-street, where every statement from any other quarter than the Governor and family clique was repudiated and disregarded. I can fearlessly state that if the representations you then made of the general discontent of the Canadians—that discontent caused by very gross misconduct of officials in that Province, and by the neglect of the Government at home of the repeated and powerful petitions for redress from both Provinces—had been listened to, the misfortunes and rebellion in Canada would have been avoided and prevented.—Earl Grey has of late years, "bit by bit," granted all the reforms that you and I advocated for Canada twenty years ago. Sound policy, and the best interest both of the Mother Country and the Province of Canada, required at that time all those reforms which have now been made. Those persons who had the power to grant, but refused to yield all these just demands of the Canadians, ought now to be ashamed of their past conduct, and take upon themselves the cause of the rebellion that took place."

But while we congratulate the country that concessions and progress have been made through the labors and

sacrifices of such men as **Mr. MACKENZIE**, we are constrained to acknowledge a universal fact—that communities and nations, like individuals, are weak and fallible; they can never hope to reach that utopia of perfection in which all is honest and pure, and when political reforms are no longer necessary. It has been well said, that “the price of Liberty is eternal vigilance.” The Institutions of the country, though somewhat ameliorated by the introduction of a defective system of Responsible Government, are by no means perfect. Official corruption is still widespread and deepseated, and it would seem as if there were no adequate means to repress the evil or punish the delinquents. The vast field opened for speculation, corruption and bribery by our gigantic railway schemes and other public undertakings, and the opportunities afforded the unprincipled supporters of the government of the day to speculate in the Crown lands and public securities, have exercised an injurious influence upon the prosperity of our country. Throughout the whole of our public departments, there is a want of integrity, and a proneness to speculate, that cannot be contemplated without alarm. Our public men, unable to withstand the golden inducements presented to them, have become fearfully contaminated; the country is startled by the glaring frauds of those in power, by the extravagant waste of the public wealth, by the maladministration of its affairs, and the recklessness with which it is being plunged into bankruptcy and ruin.

Amidst all this venality and corruption, **Mr. MACKENZIE** still maintains his integrity, and with the same manly firmness that he displayed in former years, seeks earnestly, however ineffectually, to secure for Canada the full benefit of those great and popular principles which he so ably advocated in the earlier period of his life. As the natural consequence of his untiring zeal and devotion to the public service, he has always drawn upon himself the most bitter hostility of Government. While numerous servile creatures, in Parliament and at the Press, have been sustained and enriched from the revenues of the country, **Mr. MACKENZIE** has been left entirely to the precarious support derived from the publication of an independent newspaper. Possessed of superior talent for mercantile pursuits, in the conduct of which he might long ere this have acquired an independency for life, he felt called upon by a sense of duty to his country to abandon those pursuits and undertake the arduous duties of an editor, animated, we believe, by an honorable ambition to promote the liberty, prosperity and happiness of his country.

The long and unwearied labours of **Mr. MACKENZIE** in the Legislature and through the Press,—his intelligent and bold advocacy of popular rights in the most gloomy period of our history,—the benefits which have been derived from his eminent services, both in Canada and in England—all tending to elevate and bless the Province—demand some tangible expression of regard and sympathy. Let the people show, by the hearty manner

in which they respond to this Appeal, that they are not insensible to his claims, and that those who labour faithfully and diligently in their cause, and are spent in their service, shall not be allowed to pass away unhonoured and unrewarded. If three individuals, strangers from a University in England, and now occupying lucrative places in one of the institutions of learning in this city; who have never rendered one iota of service to the country; whose very names are generally unknown to the people of the city or Province, (and one of whom, after four or five years residence, has returned again to England) have together received, very recently, about \$66,000 from the public revenue, by the scheme of Reserve Commutation, for alleged services to the community, what estimate should be set, by the friends of Civil and Religious Liberty, upon the services of such a tried public servant as Mr. MACKENZIE?

It too often happens that the lot of the sincere Patriot is poverty during life, and fame, or a monument, after death. The gratitude of a people would be more fitly expressed by a substantial testimonial to the living man, than by unprofitable eulogies or monumental erections after he has left the field of his labors and his trials. To shed around the aged veteran who has devoted the best energies of his life to the public service, the blessings of substantial independence, and the comforts of a fireside which he can call his own, would be to pay but a small portion of the debt justly due him by the inhabitants of Canada—a slight acknowledgment by the people of the eminent services he has rendered to the Province.

It is therefore proposed by the friends of Mr. MACKENZIE—who has nearly reached the ordinary term of man's days upon the earth, and who has no adequate provision laid up for a season of personal infirmity, or the support of his wife and children in the event of his death—that he should be presented with a comfortable **HOMESTEAD**, as a gift from the Freemen of Canada.

To accomplish this object in a manner worthy of the people, and in some degree commensurate with the sacrifices Mr. MACKENZIE has made in their behalf, it is proposed that a Committee be formed in each City, Town and Township in Upper Canada, and in each of the principal Towns and Cities of Lower Canada, to take charge of Subscription Lists and Contributions in their own localities—these Committees to be in correspondence with the Committee in Toronto, and the amounts forwarded to be published from time to time for the information of the Committees and the satisfaction of Contributors. Any sums received will be at once deposited in Bank, subject to the order of the Trustees, to be employed by them in the purchase of a comfortable Homestead, in such place as may be selected by themselves and the parties interested—the balance (if any) to be invested, and the annual proceeds to be applied for the benefit of Mr. MACKENZIE and his family.

not
bour
nt in
hon-
gers
acra-
this
the
the
four
and)
from
auta-
mate
rious
vant

triot
after
fitly
man,
tions
rials.
the
less-
of a
but
hab-
the
the

Mac-
m of
pro-
y, or
f his
table
mada.
f the
the
it is
City,
ch of
take
their
spon-
unts
e in-
n of
epos-
to be
table
hem-
y) to
d for